E. A. DUNAYEVA

The COLLABORATION OF NATIONS *in the* U.S.S.R.

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One of the greatest gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R.

Bourgeois ideologists assert that inter-national strife and enmity cannot be abolished, that they are an eternal law of history. Over and over again they repeat that the national problem is insoluble. Actually, however, this problem is insoluble only in the old, capitalist world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia for the first time showed the ways and means of successfully solving the national problem.

Armed with a scientific understanding of the national problem, the Bolshevik Party, on coming into power, put into practice the Lenin-Stalin theory of the commonwealth of nations; and practice, which is the final and most reliable criterion of the correctness of theory, has fully proved the viability and correctness of Bolshevik theory and of the Lenin-Stalin national policy.

It is to the Party of Lenin and Stalin that we are so greatly indebted for the fact that Russia, which in the past was a hotbed of national oppression and tyranny in their crudest and most inhuman forms, became the homeland of new relations between nations, an example of the implementation of true equality of nations, a country in which, for the first time, the national question has found solution.

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Lenin and Stalin, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, made a most valuable contribution to social science by elaborating the Marxian theory of the national problem, thereby laying the necessary theoretical foundations for the practical solution of one of the most difficult problems, i.e., the national problem.

The Bolshevik Party's theory and program of the national problem are the ideological foundation for the solution of the problem of the collaboration of nations in the U.S.S.R. In elaborating the theory and program of the national problem, Lenin and Stalin, the leaders of the Party, disclosed the connection between the national problem and the problem of the socialist revolution, the problem of overthrowing imperialism and abolishing national-colonial oppression. They

merged the national problem with the colonial problem.

The Bolsheviks proceeded from the postulate that it is the direct duty of the proletarian parties to support the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed nations, that "... there cannot be a socialist proletariat that can in the least degree tolerate the oppression of other nations by 'its' nation,"* that "... pronouncements about the 'equality of nations' which are not backed by the direct support of the proletarian parties for the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations are meaningless and false,"** that "... he who does not recognize and champion the equality of nations and languages, who does not fight against all national oppression and inequality, is not a Marxist, or even a democrat."***

The Bolsheviks showed that the abolition of national-colonial oppression is organically connected with the revolutionary struggle for the transfer of political power to the masses of the working people. The scientific analysis of the specific features of the epoch of imperialism enabled

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* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fourth Russ. ed., Vol. 21, p. 287.

** J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, pp. 60-61.

*** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fourth Russ. ed., Vol. 21, p. 12.

the Russian Bolsheviks to define the place of the national problem in the proletariat's general struggle for power, to disclose the connection between the solution of the national problem and the general struggle of the masses of the people to abolish the rule of capital. Lenin and Stalin irrefutably proved that imperialism cannot exist without oppressing and exploiting the peoples of colonies and dependent countries, that the peoples of colonies and dependent countries cannot be liberated without the overthrow of the yoke of imperialism, without a proletarian revolution, and, on the other hand, that the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible without the support of the oppressed and exploited people of the colonies.

For the first time, the Bolsheviks gave the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination a clear, distinct and consistently revolutionary content by showing that this slogan implied the right of oppressed nations to political secession, the right to form independent states. The parties affiliated to the Second International interpreted the right of nations to self-determination, at best, only as the right to autonomy. Their theoreticians on the national problem, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, restricted the concept of political self-determination to the right of so-called "cultural autonomy," which

meant leaving all political and economic power in the hands of the ruling nation. This interpretation converted the revolutionary slogan of self-determination from a weapon for the liberation of nations into an instrument for deceiving nations, into an instrument of imperialist policy.

The Bolsheviks urged the necessity not only of equality in law, but also of *actual equality* between nationalities, which necessarily implies that the advanced nations must assist the backward nationalities, and is one of the necessary conditions for the voluntary union of nations and the establishment of friendly collaboration between them.

The Bolsheviks exposed the false legend that for ages the world has been divided into "inferior" and "superior" races, that the "inferior" races are incapable of becoming civilized and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, whereas the "superior" races are the sole vehicles of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former. During the whole course of their struggle for the liberation of nations, the revolutionary Marxists-Bolsheviks argued that the economic and cultural backwardness of the oppressed nations is due not to their national, "racial" characteristics, but to the historical conditions under which they have lived and developed, to the intolerable

colonial oppression of the imperialist countries which artificially retarded the economic, political and cultural development of the colonial peoples.

The Great October Socialist Revolution proved by facts that "... the liberated non-European nations, once having been drawn into the channel of Soviet development, are no less capable than the European nations of promoting a *truly* progressive culture and a *truly* progressive civilization."*

The reformists were of the opinion that the only way to solve the national problem is the bourgeois method of the falling away of one nation from another, their disunion and intensification of national enmity among the masses of the working people of the different nations. In opposition to this, the Bolsheviks substantiated the possibility and necessity of the international solidarity of the working people, and elaborated the question of the necessity of a voluntary state and organizational-economic union of equal, national, Soviet republics as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system. The Great October Socialist Revolution proved in practice that a new, proletarian solution of the national prob-

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* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, p. 223.

lem was possible, a solution under which the peoples who receive equal rights, far from separating from each other, voluntarily unite in order jointly and more successfully to solve the problems that confront them. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it proved in practice "... the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal alliance* between the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations based on the principles of *voluntary consent* and *internationalism*. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries into a single world economic system, cannot but serve as a direct proof of this."*

The theoretical statements of Lenin and Stalin on the national problem gave the proper direction to the Bolshevik national policy. The Bolsheviks would not have succeeded in successfully solving the national problem and the problem of the collaboration of nations in a vast multinational state had they not been armed theoretically with a precise conception of the ways and means of solving them, and had they not been convinced that it was possible to establish new relationships between nations.

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* *Ibid.*, p. 223.

The Bolshevik theory and practice of the solution of the national problem is of enormous international importance. Like a powerful searchlight, it lights up the path of struggle of all oppressed nations for their freedom and independence. It has struck and continues to strike heavy blows at the reactionary theory that it is impossible to solve the national problem, and that the division of the world into oppressed and oppressing nations is inevitable.

Of inestimable scientific and practical importance is the Bolsheviks' exposure of the false race "theories" that are disseminated in capitalist countries.

The fascist party in Germany zealously disseminated among the German people the crazy idea that it was the special mission of the German nation to be the master nation, and that all other nations were to be merely the slaves of the Germans.

The exposure of the fascist race "theory" even before Hitler Germany collapsed was greatly facilitated by the experience of the U.S.S.R. The practice of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., which is based on the Lenin-Stalin national policy, exposed the slaveowning, imperialist character of the cannibal fascist race "theory" and policy. In the course of the war the Soviet ideology and policy of race equality and friendship among

nations achieved complete victory over the bestial ideology of nationalism and race hatred preached by the Hitlerites. But race "theories" are tenacious. The imperialists of the United States and Great Britain, inspired by Winston Churchill, Vandenberg and their ilk, are preaching their own version of the race "theory," in which the role of "superior" race is assigned to the Anglo-Saxons. Race "theories" are convenient instruments in the hands of the reactionary classes for justifying the oppression and exploitation of colonies and the preparation and unleashing of new imperialist wars. That is why it is necessary unceasingly and ruthlessly to expose all varieties of racism, to expose their advocates as obscurantists, imperialists and dangerous warmongers intent on starting another war. In opposition to the misanthropic, cannibal race ideology and policy of the imperialists, the Party of Lenin and Stalin advances the ideology of race equality and friendship among nations, the ideology of proletarian internationalism, the ideology and policy of fraternal collaboration among the free and equal peoples of the U.S.S.R.

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The political basis for the successful solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R. was the

overthrow of the exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of the Soviet form of government. J. V. Stalin pointed out that the vehicles of national oppression are definite classes and strata of the population. These are, primarily, the landed aristocracy and imperialists, who manage to carry with them the petty bourgeoisie, part of the intelligentsia and part of the labour aristocracy who also to some extent share in the fruits of national plunder. As Comrade Stalin said: "There is thus a whole chorus of social forces, headed by the landed and financial aristocracy, which support national oppression. In order to create a real democratic system, it is first of all necessary to clear the ground and remove this chorus from the political stage."*

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia carried out this great historical task. In the course of the revolution, the chief exploiting classes, viz., the landlords and the big bourgeoisie, were abolished. Political power passed into the hands of the working people. A new type of state was set up in Russia, viz., the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a new form of government—the Soviets.

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* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, p. 55.

"...the triumph of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the basis and foundation on which the fraternal collaboration of peoples within a single federal state can be built up,"* said Comrade Stalin.

In the shape of the Soviets, a new and higher form of democracy came into being, viz., Soviet democracy, democracy for the working people, which ensured for the people real political rights and the decisive part in the administration of the state.

The overthrow of the exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and genuine Soviet, socialist democracy constituted that necessary political basis without which the successful solution of the national problem and the establishment of complete equality and free, voluntary and friendly collaboration among the nations would have been impossible.

The Great October Socialist Revolution brought about and secured freedom and equality for all the nations inhabiting Russia. On October 25 (November 7), 1917, the voice of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets rang out over the whole world, announcing in its

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* *Ibid.*, p. 124.

"appeal to the workers, soldiers and peasants" the transfer of power to the Soviets, and declaring that the Soviet State would ensure for all the nations inhabiting Russia genuine right of self-determination. On November 2(15), 1917, "The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia," signed by Lenin and Stalin, was promulgated. It declared that the national policy of the Soviet government was based on the following principles: equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; right of the nations inhabiting Russia to free self-determination, including right to secede and form independent states; abolition of all and sundry national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; free development for the national minorities and ethnical groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

These first political acts of the Soviet State for the solution of the national problem served as the basis for the actual emancipation of the colonial and dependent peoples of Russia. The Soviet State granted all the peoples inhabiting former tsarist Russia complete independence in determining their destiny. It granted the right of free self-determination to all the nations in Russia. This did not lead to the disintegration of the state, as the enemies of the Bolsheviks kept on reiterating; on the contrary, it strengthened the state, for the majority of the peoples

that had inhabited tsarist Russia did not wish to separate from Soviet Russia. The Soviet State took shape as a multinational state of a new type, differing in principle from the old multinational states, for it was established on the basis of new relations between nations. Unlike the bourgeois multinational states that are based on violent means of uniting nations, on the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries by the ruling classes of those countries, the Soviet multinational state is based on the principle of *equality* of all nations and of their strictly *voluntary* amalgamation in a single state union. The Soviet Socialist State is "... *a new type* of state, adapted not to the aim of exploiting and oppressing the labouring masses, but to the aim of completely emancipating them from all oppression and exploitation, to the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat."*

Amidst the conditions of civil war and the invasion of foreign troops who repeatedly seized the whole territory of individual republics, amidst incredible economic difficulties, the peoples of Soviet Land built up their state, strengthened their alliance and unity and established

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* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 6, p. 120.

increasingly close and more perfect forms of collaboration, while at the same time developing the statehood of the individual nations. In the course of building up the Soviet State more expedient forms were worked out for the solution of the national problem, forms that corresponded to the vital interests and conditions of life of the peoples inhabiting our country who, thirty years ago, were in the most diverse stages of social development. The forms of uniting the nations and national republics were adapted to the tasks of protecting their common Socialist Motherland and of developing her economy and culture.

In describing the development of the state federation of the Soviet peoples, Comrade Stalin said that in the first period of the revolution, when the toiling masses of the nationalities first came to feel that they were independent national units, while the threat of foreign intervention had not yet become a real danger, collaboration between the peoples did not yet assume a fully definite, strictly established form. In the period of the civil war, when the requirements of military defence in the national republics assumed prime importance, while questions of economic construction had not yet been placed on the order of the day, collaboration took the form of a *military alliance*. In the postwar period, when

the problems of the restoration of the productive forces destroyed by the war assumed prime importance, the military alliance was supplemented by an *economic alliance*. The amalgamation of the national republics into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics represents the concluding stage in the development of the forms of collaboration, which has now assumed the character of a *military-economic* and *political* amalgamation of peoples into a single multinational Soviet State.*

The solution of the national problem and the building of a stable Soviet multinational state was a most complicated task. The Soviet State had before it only the unsuccessful experiments in forming multinational states in capitalist countries. Nevertheless, fully conscious of the enormous complexity of the task, the Soviet government set to work on the experiment of building a multinational state, for it knew that "... a multinational state which has arisen on the basis of Socialism is bound to stand every and any test."**

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a new and higher form of collaboration of nations

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* *Cf.* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, p. 124.

** J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 546.

which history has fully justified. Proof of this lies in the fact that this Union already exists for nearly thirty years and is constantly developing and growing stronger. When it was formed in 1922, it consisted of four Union Republics; it now consists of sixteen Union Republics. In 1939, the peoples of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and in 1940 it was joined by the peoples of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania who, in the first years of the revolution, under the pressure of the foreign imperialists and the national bourgeoisie which served them, had been forcibly detached from Russia. These people found genuine national freedom and independence only after the establishment of Soviet government in their countries and their entry into the fraternal family of nations of the U.S.S.R.

The period the Soviet Union has been in existence has been marked by enormous changes in the life of the Soviet peoples. During this period new Union and Autonomous Republics have been formed; in a number of spheres the powers of the Union Republics have been enlarged, etc. These changes have strengthened the fundamental principles of the Union's organization; they have improved and perfected the administration of the state by adapting it to the changes in the economic and class struc-

ture of society, to the new relations between the nations, to the increased communication and intercourse between them, and to the increased independence of the republics. These changes did not, however, cancel the fundamental principles upon which the state structure of the multinational Soviet Socialist State is based.

Thus, the Soviet state system that was established in our country as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the political basis that is needed for the complete and real solution of the national problem. And this is the basis on which the great commonwealth of nations of the U.S.S.R. developed.

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The economic basis of the collaboration of nations in the U.S.S.R. is the socialist mode of production. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the socialist reconstruction of the economy of Russia was commenced. The revolution was not restricted to granting the nations right to self-determination and completely abolishing national oppression and inequality; it also created the necessary economic conditions, without which political self-determination can be converted into a fiction. In

the course of the revolution, in the course of building Socialism, the private ownership of the means of production was abolished and public, socialist ownership was established. In this way, a firm economic basis was laid for the solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R.

The private ownership of the means of production is the economic basis of class and national oppression, exploitation and of enmity between nations. The development of capitalism tends to abolish national insularity and to establish economic intercourse between nations. As, however, mutual intercourse between and the economic union of nations are established under capitalism not on the basis of collaboration but on the basis of the subjection of some nations to others, on the basis of the oppression and exploitation of some nations by others, this leads to enmity and antagonism between nations. "Colonial plunder and annexations, national oppression and inequality, imperialist violence and arbitrary rule, colonial slavery and national subjection, and, finally, the struggle among the 'civilized' nations for mastery over the 'uncivilized' peoples—such were the forms in which the process of economic amalgamation of peoples took place."*

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* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, pp. 121-22.

The big capitalist countries subjugate small and under-developed countries and become still stronger by plundering them. Is it surprising that the imperialist countries are not interested in the economic development of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries? They artificially retard and distort the development of colonial and dependent countries, subordinate thei economy to their own narrow imperialist interests, and transform these countries into markets for their goods and spheres for the investment of their capital. Imperialism is inseverably connected with the exploitation of colonies and dependent countries. Imperialism is inconceivable without economic and political inequality of nations. Under imperialism, the struggle of the oppressed nations for their liberation, for secession from the imperialist states that oppress them, is inevitable. Under imperialism, "collaboration" of nations actually means the exploitation, robbery and oppression of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries by finance capital. National equality and peace and friendly collaboration between nations are unachievable and inconceivable under the rule of capitalism.

Lenin and Stalin pointed to the two tendencies in the national problem that are inherent in imperialism: the tendency to internationalize

modes of production and exchange, to bring nations economically closer to each other and gradually to unite vast territories in one, integral whole; and the tendency to destroy the violent forms of this union, which tendency finds expression in the struggle the oppressed peoples of colonial and dependent countries wage to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that these two tendencies are utterly irreconcilable under imperialism, because imperialism can "bring together" and "unite" nations only by force. "For imperialism," said Comrade Stalin, "these two tendencies represent irreconcilable contradictions; because imperialism cannot exist without exploiting colonies and forcibly retaining them within the framework of the 'integral whole'; because imperialism can bring nations together only by means of annexations and colonial conquest, without which it is, generally speaking, inconceivable.

"For Communism, on the contrary, these tendencies are but two sides of a single cause—the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism; because Communism knows that the union of the nations in a single world economic system is possible only on the basis of mutual confidence and voluntary agreement, and that the road to the formation

of a voluntary union of nations lies through the separation of the colonies from the 'integral' imperialist 'whole,' through the transformation of the colonies into independent states."*

The socialist mode of production constitutes the firm economic foundation for the voluntary union and collaboration of the nations of the U.S.S.R. Under Socialism, the tendency of nations to draw closer together and to unite, combines harmoniously with the strengthening and development of the independence of the national Soviet republics.

The national Soviet republics constitute the form, in the framework of which the constructive abilities of the individual nationalities are best developed. At the same time, the socialist mode of production serves as the basis on which the nations draw closer and closer together, and this, in turn, serves to strengthen the entire Soviet multinational state. The economic foundation of Socialism is the socialist, public (state and kolkhoz-cooperative) ownership of the means of production which, far from dividing people into hostile groups, unites them in the process of socialist production. Under capitalism, economically backward nations naturally strive to

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* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 65.

keep separate, because they are subjected to the exploitation and oppression of the big states; under Socialism, however, they just as naturally strive to unite with other nations, because unity ensures them the economic, political and cultural assistance of the more developed nations.

The state amalgamation of the individual Soviet republics in a Union State resulted in direct economic benefits for them, since it made possible the planned development of those branches of production that were most advantageous from the point of view of internal resources. This, in turn, enabled the whole country to distribute the productive forces among the republics in the most expedient way. The very nature of the Soviet social system disposes the masses of the working people naturally to strive for union in one socialist family, because this system rests not on the rule of capital, but on the rule of labour, not on private, but on state and kolkhoz-cooperative property, not on the exploitation of man by man, but on the abolition of exploitation in all its forms.

The working class in power is the enemy of enslavement in every form; it is the true vehicle of the ideas of internationalism and friendship among nations. Thus, only Socialism can develop, and really has developed and consolidated,

the firm, friendly collaboration of free and equal nations in economic life, and consequently, in all other spheres of social life.

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During the short period it has carried out its national policy, the Soviet State has achieved results that are unprecedented in history.

The example of the life and development of the numerous Soviet nations vividly shows how important is the solution of the national problem, what mighty productive forces were released by the Great October Socialist Revolution, which put an end forever to national oppression on one-sixth of the globe, what scope for the development of all the nations was provided by the Soviet state system, which is based on the friendship and fraternal collaboration of all nations.

The Soviet state system was a powerful factor in the national consolidation of those nationalities which at the time of the revolution had not yet managed to take shape as a nation. Thus, one of the specific features of the development and existence of the Soviet republics in the East was that the peoples of these republics developed and became consolidated as nations not under the aegis of the bourgeois system,

but under the aegis of the Soviet State. The socialist industry and the kolkhoz system that were created in the non-Russian regions became the economic basis of this consolidation. On this basis, the remnants of tribal isolation, of tribal customs, were abolished; a national culture that is socialistic in content developed, and a national intelligentsia grew up. On the basis of the Soviet system, the nations that had been backward in their development acquired a common territorial, economic, language and cultural interest. This was the path, indicated by Lenin, of the non-capitalist development of nations towards Socialism with the aid of the working class of the advanced countries, in a stubborn struggle against the exploiting classes. Peoples like the Turkmenians, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Azerbaijanians, and others, became regenerated and developed into independent nations only under Soviet conditions. Socialism created the most favourable conditions for the establishment and development of all that was valuable and best in the traditions of each people. The Soviet State ensured an unprecedentedly rapid tempo of consolidation of nations such as is inconceivable under the conditions of capitalism.

In the Soviet State, the poverty-stricken and backward outlying regions of tsarist Russia

changed beyond recognition in a short space of time. In the process of socialist construction, the backward nationalities, assisted by the advanced nations, developed and caught up with the latter, which, in their turn, were steadily developing. The new relations of friendship between all the Soviet nations were strengthened.

Looking back on the road the Soviet nations have traversed during these three decades, we are proud of the way the national economy of all the Soviet republics has grown and become strong, proud of the strength and might of the whole of our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The friendly collaboration of the masses of the working people of all the nations of Russia at first took shape in the struggle they waged against their "own" and the "alien" bourgeoisie, against imperialist intervention and bourgeois counterrevolution, in the struggle to establish and consolidate the Soviet State. Simultaneously, as military successes at the fronts in the civil war were achieved and the invaders were expelled, the Soviet peoples organized their national Soviet republics in conformity with the strivings and interests of the masses of the people.

The establishment and organization of the national statehood of the now free and equal peoples of our country was in the main carried out by the Soviet Government in the period of

1917-21. But this was only the beginning of the solution of the national problem. On the termination of the civil war the collaboration of nations that had been established in the first period of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the period of civil war had to be strengthened and developed. It was necessary to draw all the Soviet peoples into the work of socialist construction; to create the conditions under which the military-economic collaboration of the nations could be transformed into firm and mighty friendship among the nations; to destroy the economic and class roots of nationalism which was sowing enmity and distrust among the nations; to abolish the *actual inequality* of the nationalities which the establishment of the Soviet system could not by itself abolish. These tasks were set in 1921 by the Tenth Congress of the Party.

In its resolution on Comrade Stalin's "Report on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem," the Tenth Congress made a profound analysis of the conditions of the nationalities, of the historical causes that gave rise to actual inequality in the development of the nations, and precisely defined the Party's immediate tasks in connection with the national problem.

The Congress affirmed that of the 65,000,000 non-Russian inhabitants of Russia, only about

35,000,000 had to some degree passed through the period of industrial development. These were the people of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, part of Azerbaijan and Armenia. About 30,000,000, chiefly the Turkic population (Turkestan, the greater part of Azerbaijan, Daghestan, the Gortsi, Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and others), had not yet managed to pass through the industrial stage of development, did not yet possess or scarcely possessed, an industrial proletariat, and, in the majority of cases, still preserved their pastoral husbandry and patriarchal-tribal customs (Kirghizia, Bashkiria, North Caucasus) or else had not yet managed to abandon their semi-patriarchal, semi-feudal customs (Azerbaijan, the Crimea, and others).*

As a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, however, these peoples had already been drawn into the general course of Soviet development. Under these conditions, the Soviet Government was faced with the immense task of ensuring for the former colonies of Russia which had lagged behind their development, the transition to Socialism without having to pass through the capitalist stage of development and, in the process of socialist construction, of abolishing actual na-

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* *Cf. Resolutions of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, Part I, Sixth Russ. ed., 1940, pp. 385-86.

tional inequality in all spheres of social life. "The essence of the national problem in the R.S.F.S.R. lies in abolishing the actual backwardness (economic, political and cultural) of some of the nations, inherited by them from the past, in enabling the backward peoples to catch up with Central Russia in political, in cultural and in economic respects,"* said Comrade Stalin at the Tenth Congress.

Thus, immediately on the termination of the civil war, the Soviet Government set to work to abolish actual inequality and to bring the backward nationalities up to the level of the advanced. Seething activity commenced to promote the political, economic and cultural development of the non-Russian republics. To build up a native state apparatus, to open native schools, to muster and by means of different kinds of educational courses to train a native intelligentsia, to open recreation clubs, cinemas and theatres, to liquidate illiteracy among the adult population, etc.—such were the urgent needs of the backward nationalities, to the satisfaction of which the young Soviet State devoted great attention.

In the economic sphere, the Soviet State strove first of all to raise the productive forces of the

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* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 5, p. 39.

non-Russian republics by erecting factories to work up the rich resources of raw materials that these republics possess. In conformity with its policy of industrializing the outlying regions, the Soviet Government provided facilities for diverse exploration operations with the object of organizing new branches of production there. To accelerate the industrial development of the outlying regions, skilled workers, technical equipment and whole factories were transferred to them. Great attention was devoted to the agrarian problem, as agriculture was the chief occupation of the native populations. In addition to allotting land to the peasants, the Soviet Government supplied the non-Russian republics with agricultural machines and implements. Immense irrigation works were undertaken to increase the cultivatable area and to make agriculture more productive. Considerable funds were allocated for building factories, railways, roads, canals, electric-power stations, towns and numerous cultural and welfare services in the non-Russian republics and regions.

In all this work of economic and cultural development, all the non-Russian Soviet republics received the disinterested and systematic assistance of the R.S.F.S.R. The Russian people gave every assistance to all the formerly oppressed nations of Russia. Exerting incredible efforts to

rehabilitate the ruined national economy of the Soviet Republic, the Russian people apportioned the necessary economic resources and finances to assist the fraternal peoples to overcome their economic and cultural backwardness. This assistance rendered by the Russian people broke down the historically created distrust of the formerly oppressed nations and helped to develop the new relationships of friendship and collaboration.

A powerful factor in the abolition of economic inequality among the nations was the industrialization of the U.S.S.R. During the period of fulfilment of the Stalin five-year plans, when industrial construction on a gigantic scale was going on all over the country and the whole of the national economy was being technically re-equipped, the raising of the economic and cultural level of the non-Russian Soviet republics proceeded in all its magnitude.

The collectivization of agriculture drew into the work of socialist construction the broad masses of the working peasants of all the nations, created the conditions for introducing advanced mechanized production in agriculture, and helped to strengthen the ties between the broadest masses of the working people and the working class, the leading force in socialist construction.

All the nations inhabiting our country joined in the gigantic work of transforming old, agrar-

ian Russia into a new, socialist, industrial power. Industrial and agricultural development unprecedented in history was launched all over the country; the numerous nations of the Soviet Union took part in great construction work such as the building of the Kuznetsk and Magnitogorsk metallurgical plants, the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Dnieper Power Plant, the Farkhad Power Plant, the Stalin White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal, the Great Ferghana Canal, etc. All the nations worked with unprecedented enthusiasm to build Socialism, to strengthen the forces and might of their multinational state. In the course of their common labours and common concern for the welfare of their Soviet Motherland, in the process of building Socialism, the former national isolation and that accursed heritage of tsarism and capitalism—distrust among the nations—disappeared. Work in the socialist industrial enterprises, in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes drew the working people of the different nations together, broke down the barriers that had separated them and brought within the reach of those nations which had been most backward in the past the highest attainments of socialist economy and culture.

In the process of building Socialism, the Soviet Government successfully solved the problem of the economic development of the Soviet

republics and of raising the economy of the backward republics to the level of the advanced. The Soviet Government successfully coped with the task of ensuring the non-capitalist path of development for the backward regions of the country.

The victory of Socialism put an end to the multiplicity of economic forms that had formerly existed in the country's economy. In 1937, the socialist sector completely predominated in industry (the private sector accounted for only 0.03 per cent of output); in the rural districts 93.5 per cent of the peasant households were united in kolkhozes.* In the same year, the share of socialist economy in the total national economy was as follows: national income 99.1 per cent; gross output of all industry 99.8 per cent; gross output of agricultural produce 98.6 per cent; trade 100 per cent.**

The socialist mode of production became the economic basis for the development of all the national Soviet republics. The former economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples of the non-Russian outlying regions and the marked

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* *Cf.* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, pp. 608, 612.

** *Cf. Fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan*, Russ. ed., 1939, pp. 8-9.

differences in the level of industrial development of the Union Republics were abolished. The Soviet Government ensured rapid development for the formerly industrially backward non-Russian regions and republics. Thus, from 1913 to 1940, the average increase in the gross output of large-scale industry for the Soviet Union as a whole was 12-fold; but that of the Kazakh S.S.R. for the same period was 19.6-fold, of the Armenian S.S.R. 22.6-fold, of the Georgian S.S.R. 26.9-fold, of the Kirghiz S.S.R. 153-fold, and of the Tajik S.S.R. 277-fold. All the Soviet republics trained their own cadres of industrial workers from among the native population. A native intelligentsia arose in the republics. For example, before the revolution there were only twelve Azerbaijanian engineers in Azerbaijan, but in 1939 there were already over 3,000. In Uzbekistan there were no educated people among the native population before the revolution, but in 1939 the republic had an army of intellectuals numbering 100,000.

In its resolution on Comrade Molotov's report on the Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R., the Eighteenth Congress of the Party formulated the task of promoting the further industrial development of the Union Republics as follows: "To ensure a further rise in the economic and cultural level of the *non-Russian republics and*

regions in conformity with the fundamental tasks connected with the distribution of the productive forces in the Third Five-Year Plan."*

During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, the eastern Soviet republics received, provided sites for and started an enormous number of large industrial plants that had been evacuated from the regions occupied by the enemy. The important task of supplying the armed forces with everything they needed rested to a large degree upon these republics. As a consequence, their industrial development was still more accelerated during the war. The Uzbek S.S.R. may be quoted as an example. During the period of fulfilment of the Stalin five-year plans and the period of the Great Patriotic War, gross industrial output in this republic increased more than 10-fold, and the fixed funds (plant and equipment) of industry increased 33-fold.

The Soviet Government ensured such a rapid industrial development for the formerly backward Union Republics that they were able to catch up with the developing advanced republics and reach their level.

The political and economic development of the Soviet republics served as the basis of an im-

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* *The Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), Verbatim Report*, Russ ed., 1939, p. 660.

mense growth of the culture of the nations of the U.S.S.R. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government exerted immense efforts to raise the cultural level of the masses of the people. Under Soviet rule a cultural revolution has taken place in the U.S.S.R.; a new culture, socialist in content, and developing in the form of national cultures, has arisen.

Already in 1938, the number of children attending school had greatly increased in the respective republics compared with pre-revolution times; and in this respect the formerly backward national republics had caught up with the advanced and most cultured regions of the Soviet Union.

In 1938-39, the number of pupils attending elementary, secondary and high schools per thousand of the population was as follows in the respective republics: R.S.F.S.R. 187; Ukrainian S.S.R. 176; Byelorussian S.S.R. 192; Azerbaijan S.S.R. 195; Georgian S.S.R. 196; Armenian S.S.R. 237; Turkmenian S.S.R. 163; Uzbek S.S.R. 176; Tajik S.S.R. 170; Kazakh S.S.R. 179 and the Kirghiz S.S.R. 204.*

There has also been an increase in the number of students attending colleges and universities.

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* *Cf. Cultural Development in the U.S.S.R.*, Russ. ed., 1940, p. 29.

Before the revolution there were higher educational establishments only in what is now the R.S.F.S.R., in the Ukraine and in Georgia, and not all the republics had even high schools. At the present time, however, every Soviet republic has a wide network of colleges and vocational high schools in which the higher and medium skilled personnel it needs is trained.

In all the Soviet republics a *national literature* is developing. Before the revolution, in republics like Byelorussia, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and Kirghizia, no literature whatever was published in the native languages. In 1913, of the total number of books published in the Ukraine, only 3.2 per cent was published in the Ukrainian language. In 1933, however, 70 per cent of the total was published in that language.

Under Soviet rule, books have been brought within the reach of all the nations of the Soviet Union.

In all the Soviet republics there is a large number of big public libraries. In 1939, there were 48,561 libraries in the R.S.F.S.R., 17,018 in the Ukrainian S.S.R., 3,682 in the Byelorussian S.S.R., 1,284 in the Georgian S.S.R., 1,441 in the Uzbek S.S.R., 2,581 in the Kazakh S.S.R., 1,098 in the Azerbaijan S.S.R., etc.

In tsarist Russia, in 1913, newspapers and magazines were published in 24 languages. In the

U.S.S.R., in 1938, newspapers were already published in 69 languages, and magazines in 39 languages. In Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, for example, no newspapers at all were published in the native languages before the revolution; in 1938, however, 44 newspapers were published in the Tajik language, 133 in the Kazakh language, 37 in the Kirghiz language and 36 in the Turkmenian language.*

The flourishing condition of the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is also shown by the fact that in addition to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and the specialized academies, ten Union Republics have their own Academies of Sciences. These are: the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In the other republics scientific research work is conducted and coordinated by branches and bases of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. There are such branches and bases in Kirghizia, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R., the Moldavian S.S.R., and also in some of the autonomous republics: the Tatar and Komi Autonomous Republics, and others.

The cultural backwardness of some of the nations of the U.S.S.R. is now a thing of the

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* *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 215, 221, 220.

past. Today, all the Soviet nations are in the vanguard of world culture and progress.

It must be emphasized, however, that the cultural development of the nations of the U.S.S.R. does not signify cultural progress only for individuals, or individual groups of the population; the attainments of culture in all its aspects have been brought within the reach of the broadest masses of the working people of all nationalities.

In developing its own national culture—its own schools, theatres, literature and science—every nation in the Soviet Union at the same time enhances the common cultural treasures of all the nations of the U.S.S.R.

In the Soviet Union a significant process of the drawing together of the cultures of the different nationalities is going on. Ingrained in the memory of the people are the colourful National Art Decades that have been held in Moscow, during which the art of different nationalities was exhibited, testifying to the great cultural achievements of the fraternal republics. The country-wide celebration of the anniversaries of the great writers and poets Pushkin, Shevchenko and Shot'ha Rust'hveli, and the celebration of the millennium of the Armenian popular epic *David of Sasun,* were red letter days in the cultural life of the nations of the U.S.S.R.; they drew these nations closer together and fostered mutual

respect and sympathy for the history and cultural treasures of the fraternal nations.

"All the real cultural achievements of the nations, no matter how far back into the past they may go, are highly valued in the Socialist State and now stand forth before their own nations, and before the nations of the whole of the Soviet Union, in their regenerated, in their true ideological brilliance. The Bolsheviks are not among those who have forgotten their kinship with their people. We Bolsheviks come from the very depths of the people, we value and love the glorious deeds in the history of our nation as well as of all other nations. We know very weil that real progress, which is possible only on the basis of Socialism, must rest on the entire history of the nations and on all their attainments in past centuries, it must reveal the true meaning of the history of the life of the nations in order to ensure a glorious future for our own nation, and at the same time a bright future for all nations,"* said Comrade Molotov in his address on the twenty-second anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Thus, setting itself the extremely difficult task of abolishing the economic and cultural backward-

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* V. M. Molotov, *XXII Anniversary of the October Revolution*, Russ. ed., 1939, pp. 14-15.

ness of the formerly oppressed nations that had lagged behind in their development, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government achieved amazing results in a comparatively short space of time.

We will quote as examples the development of two formerly backward nations in Russia—the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz. We will show what they were like in the past and what they are like now. Before the revolution, Kazakhstan was one of the most backward colonies of tsarist Russia. The chief occupation of the inhabitants was that of nomad herdsmen. Of the total land area of 44,000,000 hectares, 15,600,000 belonged to Russian Cossack settlements; 88 per cent of the good land belonged to the rich native class, the baï. Only about 2 per cent of the Kazakh population was literate. The following is the way the Kazakhs themselves described their life in the past in a letter they sent to Comrade Stalin on the twenty-fifth anniversary of their republic: "Before Soviet rule was established, the life of our people was like spring without flowers, daytime without the sun, a river without water. In the earth lay hidden precious metals, but man raised the deposits of the steppes with wooden shovels. The wide banks of lakes and rivers were flooded by the life-giving waters of mountain glaciers, but man died of thirst. In the wintertime our pastures were covered with an icy

crust and our wandering herds, our only staff of life, perished from hunger. It took months and years to travel from border to border across our unexplored land. A man was born, he lived and died, without knowing anything about the great life of the world. Our entire people bent under the burden of fate, which was as severe as a snowstorm in the steppe."*

The Great October Socialist Revolution delivered the talented Kazakh people from age-long exploitation, saved them from extinction and put them on the road to a new way of life. After becoming a Soviet republic, the equal of all the other republics in the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan made such gigantic progress in economic and cultural development as it was unable to make in all the long centuries of its history. From a poverty-stricken, backward country with a patriarchal-tribal, nomad way of life, Kazakhstan has been transformed into an advanced socialist republic. Already in 1940, industry constituted 60 per cent of its total national economy. By 1939, the output of large-scale industry had already increased 17-fold compared with 1913, and the number of workers employed in industry had increased 8-fold. Huge industrial enterprises have been built in Kazakhstan which are the pride not only of the

* *Pravda,* Nov. 17, 1945.

Kazakh people, but of the entire Soviet Union: the Karaganda collieries, the third largest in the Soviet Union; the Balkhash Copper Smelting Plant, larger than any non-ferrous metallurgical plant in Europe; the Emba Oil Combine; the Chimkent Lead Works, and many others. Kazakhstan holds first place in the U.S.S.R. for resources of copper, lead, zinc, silver, cadmium and many other minerals. It is famous in the U.S.S.R. as a land of large-scale industry and the storehouse of rare minerals. Fundamental changes have also taken place in the agriculture of Kazakhstan. In 1945 there were 6,390 kolkhozes in the republic, scores of grain and stockbreeding sovkhozes, and 363 machine and tractor stations. Already in 1940, nearly the entire cultivated area of the republic was worked with tractors. In cultivated area and head of cattle Kazakhstan holds third place in the U.S.S.R. (after the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine). In 1945, the area of irrigated land amounted to 1,350,000 hectares. In the postwar Stalin five-year plan period the industrial capacity of Kazakhstan is steadily growing. For rate of industrial development in the postwar five-year plan period, Kazakhstan holds second place among the Union Republics, and third place as regards capital investments in the national economy.

The culture of the Kazakh people has risen immensely. The entire people is now literate, and

its culture is very high. In 1945 there were in the republic 7,735 elementary and secondary schools, attended by over 750,000 pupils. Special schools had been opened to teach adults to read and write, and by 1940 illiteracy among the adult population was already abolished. Before the revolution there was not a single higher educational establishment in Kazakhstan, and not a single Kazakh attended any such institution in tsarist Russia. In 1946, however, there were in Kazakhstan 23 higher educational establishments, attended by about 12,000 students. During the many centuries preceding the revolution only 120 books had been published in the Kazakh language, and most of these were of a religious character. Now, the Kazakh publishing house publishes over 600 titles every year, in addition to 134 newspapers and four magazines. Science too has widely developed in Kazakhstan. The republic has an Academy of Sciences, which controls 17 scientific research institutes and scores of laboratories. Twelve hundred scientists are engaged in the scientific institutions of Kazakhstan, and among them are five members and corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, 85 Doctors of Science and professors, and 246 Masters of Science and lecturers. There are now in Kazakhstan 41 theatres, including a magnificent Opera House, a wide network of cinemas, art and music

schools, ballet schools, a choir and a philharmonic orchestra. Kazakh national literature has developed too.*

That is how the Kazakh people have developed under the Soviet system thanks to the application of the Lenin and Stalin national policy.

We see the same in the case of the Kirghiz S.S.R. Before the revolution Kirghizia was one of the most backward outlying regions of tsarist Russia. Fertile valleys, excellent mountain pastures, immense deposits of useful minerals: coal, lead, zinc, tin, gold, silver, antimony, quicksilver, etc.— such is the natural wealth of Kirghizia. But oppressed by tsarism, the Kirghiz people lived in poverty before the revolution. Cruel want reigned primarily in the yurtas of the Kirghiz nomads who were subjected to unbearable exploitation by the baï, manaps and the tsarist officials. The Kirghiz people pursued a nomadic way of life, were nearly all illiterate, and were in danger of extinction. Two small tanneries, an oil press, a cheese factory and fifty small handicraft workshops with the most primitive equipment constituted the entire industry of the country.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened

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* The above facts about Kazakhstan have been taken from the following sources: *Pravda*, Nov. 6, 1940; *Pravda*, Nov. 17, 1945; *Pravda*, Dec. 20, 1946; *Pravda*, June 6, 1948.

for the Kirghiz people the road to free national development and to the building of a socialist way of life. From a country with patriarchal-tribal customs, Kirghizia, under Soviet rule, became an industrial-agrarian country. In 1945, industrial production accounted for about 70 per cent of the total national economy of the republic and showed an increase of nearly 300-fold compared with 1913. There are over 5,000 enterprises in the country. In 1945, industrial production amounted to 35 times as much as in 1926. During the past twenty years coal output increased 12-fold. Since 1926, electric-power capacity has increased over 100-fold. Skilled workers have been trained from among the native population. The factories work up metals and timber, cotton and wool, grain and sugar beets; they manufacture silk, cloth, sugar, tobacco and wine. Coal and oil, quicksilver and lead, vanadium and sulphur and other rare and extremely rare metals are mined. Across the mountains where formerly pack horse tracks had been the only means of communication, railways, roads and automobile roads have now been built. Railway, automobile and air communication, post, telegraph and telephone, are now part and parcel of the everyday life of the Kirghiz people.

Under Soviet rule the backward nomadic husbandry of Kirghizia has been transformed into large-scale socialist agriculture equipped with the

most up-to-date machines. There are in the country 1,600 kolkhozes, 42 sovkhozes and scores of machine and tractor stations. The fields of Kirghizia are worked with thousands of tractors and harvester combines. In twenty years the area of irrigated land almost doubled. The cultivation of cotton, sugar beets and of other industrial crops is extensively developed.

Formerly almost entirely illiterate, the Kirghiz people, under Soviet rule, obtained wide access to education and culture. In 1946, there were in the country 1,531 schools, 25 secondary vocational schools, six higher educational establishments and 23 scientific research institutes. In 1943, a Kirghiz branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. was formed and is now the centre of scientific thought in the republic. The republic has developed a national literature and art and has trained a large body of intellectuals from among the native population. It has ten republic, regional and district theatres including the Kirghiz State Opera and Ballet, which has been awarded the Order of Lenin. It also has a philharmonic orchestra, a school of music, a State Dramatic Theatre, 507 recreation clubs, 271 libraries, 109 cinemas and 328 village reading rooms. Before the revolution the Kirghiz people did not even have a written language; but today, 89 newspapers are published in the Kirghiz, Uzbek and Russian lan-

guages, and textbooks, the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, technical and other literature are published in the native language. Such is the path of development the people of Kirghizia have traversed under Soviet rule.

"We are proud of our dear, sunny Kirghizia, which in its development has surpassed the countries of the East contiguous to ours, the peoples of which are living under conditions of social inequality, lack of rights, poverty and capitalist slavery,"* wrote the working people of Kirghizia to Comrade Stalin when celebrating the twentieth anniversary of their republic.

The same path of rapid industrial and cultural development has been traversed by the peoples of the Azerbaijan, Armenian, Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen and other fraternal republics.

In the great commonwealth of nations of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, with state power wielded by the working people, the former backward nations and peoples have created their own national Soviet republics and have converted them into advanced industrial-agrarian countries which occupy a worthy place among the fraternal republics of the Soviet

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* The above facts about the Kirghiz S.S.R. have been taken from the following sources: *Pravda*, March 1, 1946; *Pravda,* March 3, 1946; *Izvestia,* March 1, 1946; *Moskovsky Bolshevik*, March 1, 1946.

Union. Such are the fruits of the Lenin and Stalin national policy pursued by the Party and the Soviet State.

In the dependent and colonial countries of the East we see the very opposite of this. Let us take, for example, the largest of them—India, now divided into Hindustan and Pakistan, which have been granted dominion status, but which actually continue to be semi-colonies. India is an agrarian country with a population (in 1931) of about 350,000,000. Sixty-seven per cent of its self-supporting inhabitants are engaged in agriculture and only 10 per cent in industry. India supplies 60 per cent of the world's rice crop, about 40 per cent of the tea crop, about 15 per cent of the cotton crop, 99 per cent of the jute crop and 8 per cent of the wheat crop. But these figures must not be taken as evidence of a high level of agriculture. Burdened by the oppression of imperialism and of the survivals of feudalism, agriculture in India still drags out a miserable existence, for it lacks the support of developing industry. The British imperialists, interested in the production of the raw materials they need (cotton, jute, oil seed, rubber, rice and tea), retarded the industrial development of India in order to keep it as a raw materials base for their colonial empire. All the key positions in industry are held by British capital. Over 80 per cent of the peasant farms are in

perpetual debt to usurers. The growth of indebtedness leads to the systematic ruin of the peasant farmers, most of whose land falls into the hands of the usurers. Every year millions of people die of hunger.

Before the second world war about 18,000,000 workers were employed in industry in India. Of these, only 2,000,000 were employed in factories; the rest were artisans or journeymen in handicraft workshops. The light industries and mining are chiefly developed, but these are owned by foreign capital, mostly British. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of India remain illiterate. According to the 1931 census, less than 10 per cent of the population over five years of age was able to read and write. Such are the fruits of more than a century of "civilizing" activity on the part of the British imperialists in India.*

Were it not for the Great October Socialist Revolution, the peoples of our eastern republics would have been in no better plight than those of India and other colonies.

The English writer A. Campbell, in his book *It's Your Empire*, published in 1945, after painting a depressing picture of the conditions prevail-

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* *Cf. The British Empire.* State Scientific Institute "Soviet Encyclopedia," 1943, pp. 193, 194, 196, 199, 203, 232.

ing in the British colonies, advises Great Britain to learn from the Soviet Union and in doing so tries to make it appear that there is no fundamental difference between the British "commonwealth of nations" and the Soviet Union. He writes: "But the British and Soviet Commonwealths can nevertheless learn from each other. Stalin appears to have solved the quadruple problems of improving economic and social conditions, preserving distinctive cultures while fitting them into the new all-embracing Soviet culture, and achieving a wide measure of political autonomy by creating what are virtually Soviet Dominions."

If there is indeed no difference in the status of the nationalities in the Soviet Union and of those in the British "commonwealth of nations," why is there such a difference in their development? Why have the Soviet republics, during the three decades of Soviet rule, become regenerated? Why have they flourished and taken such a gigantic leap forward in their economic and cultural development, whereas the colonial peoples in the British Empire lack freedom and independence, have no rights, are subjected to racial discrimination, ruthless oppression and exploitation, drag out a miserable existence, die from hunger and disease? The answer to this is perfectly clear.

The nations of the U.S.S.R. became regenerated and were able to take such a gigantic leap for-

ward in their economic, political and cultural development because they became really free and equal; because Soviet rule granted the nations the right to full and free self-determination and put an end forever to national oppression. On this basis, the basis of victorious Socialism, the friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., friendly collaboration between them in all spheres of economic, political and cultural construction, developed and gained strength.

The Soviet solution of the national problem is no secret. But it cannot be mechanically transplanted from socialist to capitalist soil. To achieve successes like those achieved by the Soviet republics, the nations must be given the same conditions of development as those provided for them in the Soviet Union. This is what is to be learned from the Soviet Union on this question. But for this it is necessary to abolish imperialism, to abolish national-colonial oppression and exploitation.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of Soviet rule and the organization of the national economy on socialist lines—these are the chief causes of the rapid economic and cultural development and prosperity of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

The formerly backward and oppressed nations of Russia could not have achieved such rapid industrial and cultural development as enabled

them to catch up with the advanced nations had they not united their efforts in socialist construction and had they not received the friendly assistance of the more developed Soviet nations, and of the Russian nation in particular.

Firm and unshakeable friendship among the nations was the motive force of the rapid development and flourishing condition of all the Soviet nations. Friendship among the nations is the inestimable gain of the revolution, because thanks to it the nations of our country are free and invincible. The Soviet State could not have become so mighty and strong and could not have passed through all trials had it been torn by national strife and enmity. It was possible to build up such an economically, militarily and culturally powerful state like the U.S.S.R. in such a short period because all the nations inhabiting it generously poured their unstinting efforts into the common cause of building up and strengthening our Motherland.

Friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R. found most vivid manifestation during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. One of the gravest blunders the Hitlerites committed was their banking on the breakdown of the commonwealth of Soviet nations, their hope that the war and its trials would cause enmity and strife among the nations in a multinational state like the U.S.S.R. The war,

however, fully confirmed and proved that the friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R. is indestructible because it rests on the granite foundation of the Soviet Socialist State. The gravest dangers and trials of the war against the German invaders could neither break nor even shake this friendship. On the contrary, the mortal danger that hovered over our Socialist Motherland united the Soviet peoples more than ever. As soon as he invaded the Ukraine and Byelorussia the enemy came face to face with all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The finest representatives of all the nations of the U.S.S.R., fought shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the Soviet Army. They defended the soil of each separate Soviet republic as part of their own united Motherland—the U.S.S.R. More than ever the Soviet people felt that they were members of one friendly family and united their efforts to repel the enemy. During the war, the fraternal mutual assistance of all the Soviet republics was strikingly manifested. The enemy occupied the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Moldavia and part of the R.S.F.S.R.; all the nations of the U.S.S.R. rose to liberate these republics. The Soviet republics and regions far in the interior received and helped to start the principal industrial enterprises that were evacuated from the republics occupied by the enemy. They increased and developed the productivity of in-

dustry and agriculture to the utmost in order to supply the country and the armed forces with everything they needed, and in order, as far as possible, to make up for the part played in the national economy before the war by those districts which had been occupied by the enemy.

Friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R. was still more tempered and hardened during the war. The Soviet Union Republics developed still more, became still stronger, and coped brilliantly with the numerous new and complicated tasks with which the war confronted them. The further strengthening of the Union Republics and of friendship among the nations in the course of the war found expression in the expansion of the rights of these republics. As is known, the Tenth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held in the beginning of 1944, invested the Union Republics with powers in the sphere of foreign relations and sanctioned a law granting these republics the right to have their own national military formations. The granting and implementation of such rights to the Union Republics during the war is striking evidence that the firmness of our multinational state had successfully passed the stern test of war. "*The friendship among the peoples of our country* has stood the test of all the hardships and trials of the war and has been still further cemented in the common struggle all the

Soviet people are waging against the fascist invaders,"* said Comrade Stalin.

Friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R. is one of the deepest sources of ardent and life-giving Soviet patriotism. "The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on racial or nationalistic prejudices, but upon the profound devotion and loyalty of the people to their Soviet Motherland, on the fraternal cooperation of the working people of all the nations inhabiting our country. Soviet patriotism is a harmonious blend of the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Soviet patriotism does not disunite but unites all the nations and nationalities inhabiting our country in a single fraternal family. This should be regarded as the basis of the indestructible and ever-growing friendship that exists among the peoples of the Soviet Union,"** said Comrade Stalin.

The Soviet people speak different languages and belong to different nationalities; but all Soviet people have one thing in common that cements them in one friendly family, namely, the fact that they are all citizens of the great Soviet Union.

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* J. V. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow 1946, p. 122.

** *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Soviet people are proud of the fact that they are living in a free socialist country and belong to the great Soviet nation. The pride of Soviet citizens has nothing in common with contempt for other nations. It fully harmonizes with respect for the rights and independence of other nations and with the striving to live in peace and friendship with all peace-loving nations. The pride of the Soviet people rests on their great achievements in building a new and higher social system, a new, higher and genuinely human culture, which is national in form and socialist in content.

The Soviet people, guided by the Bolshevik Party and its leaders, Lenin and Stalin, for the first time in the history of human society, carried out, in 1917, a victorious socialist revolution, abolished the rule of the landlords and capitalists, and built socialist society. Surmounting enormous difficulties and the resistance of their enemies, the Soviet workers and peasants, by their own efforts, built in place of old, semi-colonial Russia, a mighty multinational Socialist State based on complete equality and friendship between nations. The Soviet people have realized the dream of the best representatives of mankind; in their state they abolished exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man. They have established the socialist mode of production which ensures rapid economic development and a steady improvement

in the material and cultural conditions of the masses of the working people. For the first time in the history of the world they have built up a most advanced and stable multinational state in which the indestructible friendship and the complete moral and political unity of the entire people, of the whole of Soviet society, has been achieved.

Now that the economic and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed nations has been abolished in the U.S.S.R., the chief content of the national policy of the Soviet State at the present time is *to draw the nations still closer together, to promote the further development of their collaboration and friendship in every way, completely to overcome all the survivals of nationalism in the minds of men, and further to raise the economy and culture of all the nations*; to educate the working people of all nationalities in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and Soviet national pride—pride in our common Socialist Motherland, in her great world-historic achievements in all spheres of culture and progress.

At the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, Comrade Stalin said that the task was ". . . to strengthen the moral and political unity of Soviet society and friendly collaboration among our workers, peasants and intellectuals; to promote the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. to the

utmost, and to develop and cultivate Soviet patriotism."

In the Soviet Union, society is completely united morally and politically, which is unprecedented in the history of mankind.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that because of this our progress will not encounter contradictions and conflicts between the new system and the survivals of the old in everyday life and in the minds of men. The consummation of the building of Socialism and the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism calls for the complete elimination of all the survivals of capitalism from the national economy, everyday life and the minds of men, including the most dangerous and tenacious survivals, namely, the survivals of nationalism. The victory of Socialism in our country removed the political and economic basis of all national enmity and distrust, of the manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism. But we must not shut our eyes to the fact that the level of political-mindedness and culture is not equal among the members of Soviet society, that a certain part of our population is still influenced by the old and obsolete concepts, superstitions and prejudices. ". . . the survivals of capitalism in people's minds are much more tenacious in the sphere of the national problem than in any other sphere. They are more tenacious because they are

able to disguise themselves well in national costume."*

The survivals of bourgeois nationalist ideology found expression and manifestation in a number of works on history that were published in the Kazakh, Ukrainian, and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics, in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and in some other national republics. If the survivals of nationalism in the science of history and in literature are not combated, they may revive and cause considerable harm to the work of communist education. It must not be forgotten that the reactionary forces of the capitalist world that surrounds us are trying by various ways and means to smuggle the corrupt bourgeois ideology into our country, to revive and cultivate the survivals of capitalism in the minds of Soviet people. Soviet people must be uncompromising in their hostility to all manifestations and survivals of nationalism; they must ruthlessly expose all attempts to resuscitate these survivals. It must be remembered that the nationalists in our country always have been and are agents of foreign capital, vehicles of bourgeois ideology. Educating Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism means educating them also in the spirit of

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* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 506.

friendship among the nations, in the spirit of uncompromising struggle against all national and racial enmity, against all forms of reactionary bourgeois ideology.

Soviet people must develop and strengthen to the utmost the great friendship among the nations, which is one of the sources of the strength and might of the Soviet State; they must remember what J. V. Stalin said about friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R. being a great and important gain, remember that he said that "... as long as this friendship exists, the peoples of our country will be free and invincible. We need fear nobody, neither enemies at home nor enemies abroad, as long as this friendship lives and flourishes."

Friendship among the nations is a mighty driving force of the development of socialist society, a driving force of our development in our gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

All the nations of the U.S.S.R. must incessantly develop the economy and culture of their respective republics and thereby increase the might of the whole of our multinational Soviet State.

In his address on the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade Molotov emphasized the fact that all the nations in our Soviet State have the recognized right to independence and free national de-

velopment, that all the nations are educated in the spirit of friendship and mutual respect and in the spirit of recognizing the merits of every nation in developing its own national culture and in promoting the progress of the Soviet State as a whole.

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The Great October Socialist Revolution provided the only correct solution of the national problem. It provided practical proof that national strife and enmity are not inherent in every society, but only in society based on exploitation, on the private ownership of the means of production, on the oppression and exploitation of man by man. There can be no ground for national strife and enmity in socialist society, where exploiting classes and the causes which engender the exploitation of man by man and antagonism and conflict between classes and nations have been abolished.

The historical experience of the U.S.S.R. shows that only under Socialism does genuine national freedom, the development and prosperity of formerly oppressed nationalities, equality, peace and friendship among all nations and peoples, become possible for the first time. The national culture of formerly oppressed nations can develop and flourish only under the socialist mode of production.

After the second world war, the national-colonial problem became exceptionally important and acute owing to the claim of American imperialism to world domination, and to the attempts of the United States to carry the methods of colonial rule to the sphere of relations with the big capitalist states which were weakened by the war. Taking advantage of the utter defeat of Germany and Italy, and also of the unprecedented weakening of Great Britain and France, the United States is striving to convert Western Europe into an Americanized continent. A striking expression of this imperialist striving is the "Marshall Plan," which is a direct menace to the sovereignty and independence of the West-European countries. In the guise of rendering "economic assistance" to the countries that have suffered as a result of the war, the "Marshall Plan" aims at the economic and political subjection of the West-European countries to the interests of the American industrial monopolies.

The execution of the American plan for the enslavement of Western Europe is accompanied by ideological preparation—an attack upon the principle of national sovereignty, appeals to abandon the sovereign rights of nations and propaganda of the idea of a "world government." Today, the bourgeois ideologists are trying to convince the peoples that the strengthening of international collaboration is incompatible with the

struggle for national sovereignty and the strengthening of national statehood. "The purpose of this campaign is to mask the unbridled expansion of American imperialism, which is ruthlessly violating the sovereign rights of nations, to represent the United States as a champion of universal laws, and those who resist American penetration as believers in an obsolete and 'selfish' nationalism."*

Thus the bourgeoisie has today abandoned and is trampling upon the banner of defence of national sovereignty under which it has always fought hitherto. Amidst the general crisis of capitalism, when the foundations of the capitalist system are shaking and the masses of the people are more and more resolutely rising for the struggle for their social emancipation, for the victory of Socialism, the bourgeoisie is sacrificing the national sovereignty and independence of their countries in order to crush the growing working people's movement.

This shows that the reactionary bourgeoisie of the big capitalist states no longer rely on their internal forces to retain their class rule and to recover their prewar position. As a result of the lessons taught by the war, the political maturity of the masses has grown immensely. The forces

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* A. Zhdanov, *The International Situation*, Moscow 1947, p. 31.

of democracy and Socialism are steadily growing. Under these circumstances, in their endeavour to retain their class rule, the reactionary bourgeoisie in a number of countries are placing their hopes chiefly on assistance from American imperialism. The more unstable its position becomes and the higher the popular anti-imperialist movement rises, the more quickly and willingly the bourgeoisie hastens to sell the national independence of their country to American imperialism and receive from it in exchange assistance in the struggle against the masses of the people. Having taken the path of betraying the national interests in their country, the bourgeoisie is trying to preserve the most reactionary institutions and organizations, is furiously resisting all democratic measures and is vigorously defending the position of monopoly capital in economics and politics. In this it is receiving the direct support of the Right-wing Socialists, the betrayers of the interests of their peoples and faithful servants of American imperialism.

The foremost fighter for national independence and sovereignty is the working class, headed by the Communist parties. Mobilizing the masses for the struggle against foreign imperialism, the working class is at the same time also fighting the servants of foreign imperialism in the ranks of the home bourgeoisie and is thereby creating the conditions for the abolition of the economic

and political rule of capital in the respective countries. At the present time, the struggle for the preservation of national independence is closely interwoven with the struggle for lasting peace, for a people's democracy, for Socialism; for the working class upholds the national independence of its respective countries not for the purpose of ensuring a return to the old, prewar conditions and of preserving the class rule of monopoly capital, but to ensure their democratic and socialist transformation.

While upholding their rights and fighting to preserve their national independence, the peoples of the world turn their gaze towards the Soviet Union, which incessantly and consistently upholds the principle of genuine national equality and of safeguarding the sovereign rights of all nations, big and small.

There are people in the capitalist world who do not believe that relationships of equality can exist between big and small nations. "But we, the Soviet people," said Comrade Stalin, "are of the opinion that such relationships are possible and should be established. The Soviet people are of the opinion that every nation, big or small, has qualities of its own, specific qualities peculiar to itself and which no other nations possess. These specific qualities are the contribution every nation makes to the treasury of world culture and there-

by augments, enriches it. In this sense, all nations, big and small, are in the same position, and every nation is equal to any other nation."*

The Soviet Union has set the world an example of how to solve the national problem. In the Soviet Union all nations and peoples live in friendship and are freely developing. Having consistently solved the national problem within the country on the basis of the Lenin and Stalin policy of a commonwealth of nations, the Soviet Union is today heading the struggle of all the forces of progress for peace and the democratic collaboration of nations.

The Soviet Union is a mighty, multinational, Socialist State that is winning the sympathy of all progressive mankind by its consistent Lenin and Stalin national policy, by the struggle it is waging for progress, for lasting democratic peace, for friendship and collaboration among nations.

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* From speech delivered by J. V. Stalin at a banquet in honour of the Finnish Governmental Delegation, April 7, 1948, published in the magazine *Bolshevik*, No. 7, 1948, p. 2.

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